

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00089 01 OF 05 071205Z

42

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EURE-00 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05

ACDA-05 BIB-01 ERDE-00 EB-07 /090 W
----- 066488

P R 070904Z MAR 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0879

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 5 MBFR VIENNA 0089

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

ANKARA FOR DELIVERY OF TEXT ONLY TO NATO DEPT,
TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTRY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: MARCH 6 PRESENTATION AT MARCH 6
PLENARY SESSION

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AT THE MARCH 6 PLENARY MEETING OF THE MBFR
NEGOTIATIONS, THE ONLY STATEMENT WAS DELIVERED BY
THE POLISH REP (STRULAK). IN HIS LENGTHY
STATEMENT, STRULAK REVIEWED THE NOV. 8, 1973 EASTERN
DRAFT AGREEMENT AND THEN OFFICIALLY ADVANCED, ON
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00089 01 OF 05 071205Z

BEHALF OF THE FOUR WARSAW PACT DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, THE

MODIFICATIONS TO THE EASTERN INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL PRESENTED AT THE FEB. 25 INFORMAL MEETING. THESE "AMENDEMENTS" TO THE NOV. 8 DRAFT AGREEMENT WERE PRESENTED IN THE SAME TERMS AS AT THE FEB 25 INFORMAL. STRULAK STATED THAT THE FREEZE AND OCT. 15, 1974 INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSALS REMAINED ON THE TABLE, PARALLEL TO THE PROPOSAL JUST PUT FORWARD, THUS PROVIDING THE WEST WITH A RANGE OF CHOICE.

2. THE POLISH REP'S STATEMENT ALSO INCLUDED A POINTED CRITIQUE OF THE ALLIED POSITION. STRULAK TWICE DEFINED THE CENTRAL TASK OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AS THE SUBSTANTIAL MUTUAL REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS. STRULAK DEMANDED MUTUALITY AND RECIPROCITY OF OBLIGATIONS, SAID THAT THE PREPARATORY TALKS' COMMUNIQUE HAD DEALT WITH SUBSTANTIVE AS WELL AS PROCEDURAL ISSUES, AND CRITICIZED ALLIED EFFORTS TO CHANGE THE EXISTING CORRELATION OF FORCES AND THUS DECREASE THE PREVAILING DEGREE OF STABILITY. POLISH REP CHARGED THAT THE IDEA OF COMPENSATION, ADVANCED BY THE WEST, IS TANAMOUNT TO NATO UNILATERAL MILITARY GAINS AND HAS NO JUSTIFIED STANDING IN THE VIENNA TALKS. HE MADE ONE BRIEF REFERENCE TO WESTERN NUCLEAR REDUCTIONS, SOMEWHAT UNUSUAL FOR POLISH STATEMENTS. STRULAK CLOSED BY SAYING THAT ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS MUST AGREE TO UNDERTAKE SPECIFIC OBLIGATIONS TO REDUCE FROM THE OUTSET. END SUMMARY.

3. THE TEXT OF THE POLISH STATEMENT FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

MR. CHAIRMAN,

1. ENTERING THE SECOND MONTH OF THE FIFTH ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS, WE FEEL JUSTIFIED IN ASKING TO WHAT EXTENT HAVE OUR DISCUSSIONS CONTRIBUTED TO BRING US CLOSER TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR TASK - SUBSTANTIAL MUTUAL REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00089 01 OF 05 071205Z

2. IF THE REAFFIRMATION OF THE INTEREST OF WESTERN STATES IN SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE ROUND COULD HAVE BEEN TAKEN AS A PROMISING SYMPTOM, WHAT HAS FOLLOWED IN THEIR STATEMENTS MUST LEAD TO A DIFFERENT CONCLUSION.

3. WE CONTINUE TO HEAR THE KNOWN DEMANDS FOR REDUCTIONS SUBSTANTIAL ONLY ON THE PART OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, LEADING TO THE INFREINGEMENT UPON THE EXISTING CORRELATION OF FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND THE PREVAILING DEGREE OF STABILITY, TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE SECURITY OF SOCIALIST STATES.

4. THE SOCIALIST STATES ARE ALSO CONTINUOUSLY CONFRONTED WITH THE WESTERN POSITION WHICH AMOUNTS TO THE VIRTUALLY INDEFINITE EXEMPTION FROM CLEAR-CUT REDUCTION OBLIGATIONS OF ALL BUT ONE DIRECT PARTICIPANT ON THE WESTERN SIDE, AND CONSEQUENTLY OF THE BULK OF THE NATO FORCES IN THE AREA.

5. THIS WESTERN ATTITUDE IS MAINTAINED DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY AND DISAVOWAL OF UNILATERAL MILITARY ADVANTAGES IS BEING EVER MORE ACCLAIMED IN IMPORTANT EAST-WEST DOCUMENTS OF INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER, AND ESTABLISHES ITSELF AS A PARAMOUNT PRINCIPLE OF REGULATING THE POLITICO-MILITARY QUESTIONS BETWEEN STATES.

6. THE IMPORTANT MOVE TAKEN BY FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IN NOVEMBER - DECEMBER 1974 IN SUGGESTING THE JOINT COMMITMENT BY 11 DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS NOT TO INCREASE THEIR ARMED FORCES MANPOWER IN CENTRAL EUROPE WHILE THE NEGOTIATIONS LAST, HAS NOT BEEN ACCEPTED, EVEN THOUGH THE CLEARLY STATED INTENTION OF THIS MOVE WAS TO CURB THE ARMS RACE IN THE AREA AND SERVE AS THE USEFUL SPRINGBOARD FOR THE REDUCTION PROCESS.

7. NEXT TO THIS OVERTLY NEGATIVE APPROACH TO VARIOUS SOCIALIST PROPOSALS, THE WESTERN DELEGATIONS, FAR FROM DEMONSTRATING ANY FLEXIBILITY IN THE SEARCH FOR WAYS TO SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS, KEEP DWELLING ON CONTROVERSIAL CONCEPTS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MBFR V 00089 01 OF 05 071205Z

8. THE LONG REFUTED THEORY OF DISPARITIES IS NOW REVISED WITH AN AIM TO SUBSTANTIATE THE DUBIOUS DEMAND FOR COMPENSATIONS. THE RANGE OF FACTORS SUPPOSEDLY VALID IN FORMULATING SUCH A DEMAND IS BEING SELECTED AT WILL, WHILE THE TRULY VALID CONCERNS RAISED BY SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ARE BY-PASSED AND EVEN A PRIORI DENIED.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00089 02 OF 05 071202Z

42

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EURE-00 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05

ACDA-05 BIB-01 ERDE-00 EB-07 /090 W

----- 066430

P R 070904Z MAR 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0880

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 5 MBFR VIENNA 0089

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

ANKARA FOR DELIVERY OF TEXT ONLY TO NATO DEPT,
TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTRY

9. IN PARTICULAR, THE SO-CALLED GEOGRAPHIC FACTOR IS
BEING BROUGHT INTO PICUTRE. WE WITNESS ATTEMPTS TO DRAW US INTO
THE DISCUSSION OBVIOUSLY GOING BEYOND THE AGREED AREA OF
REDUCTIONS AND LEADING US AWAY FROM THE ESTABLISHED OBJECTIVE
OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH IS THE SOLUTION OF THE CONCRETE
PROBLEM OF SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS.

10. SUCH A WESTERN APPROACH CAN ONLY AUGMENT THE DOUBTS
AS TO THE TRUE PURPOSE OF THIS TREND OF REASONING.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00089 02 OF 05 071202Z

11. THE IDEA OF COMPENSATIONS, ADVANCED BY THE WESTERN
DELEGATIONS, IS TANTAMOUNT TO UNILATERAL MILITARY GAINS

FOR THE NATO STATES. THEREFORE, IT HAS NO JUSTIFIED
STANDING IN THESE TALKS.

12. INDEED, IS IT NECESSARY TO STRESS AGAIN THE BASIC
POINT OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS, AND FOR THAT MATTER OF ANY
INTER-NATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS, VIZ. THAT CONCERNS OF THE
PARTIES MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT RECIPROCALLY?

13. SUCH RECIPROCITY IS FORESEEN IN THE SOCIALIST
COUNTRIES APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM, AND SPECIALLY IN
THEIR DRAFT AGREEMENTS
IN NOVEMBER 1973.

14. INDEED, AS THE COURSE OF OUR TALKS HAS TO-DATE
DEMONSTRATED, THIS FOUR-POWER DRAFT REMAINS THE BEST
AND MOST REALISTIC BASIS FOR PRODUCTIVE SEARCH OF MUTUALLY
ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS OF THE COMPLEX PROBLEM OF SUBSTANTIAL
AND EQUIPROPORTIONED REDUCTIONS.

15.5 WE HAVE ALREADY GIVEN THE EXTENSIVE REVIEW OF THE
CHARACTERISTICS OF THIS PLAN AIMED AT AN OVERALL SOLUTION
OF THE PROBLEM OF LOWERING THE HIGH CONCENTRATION OF ARMED
FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

16. PERMIT ME ONCE AGAIN TO STRESS THE STIPULATIONS OF
THIS DRAFT AGREEMENT WHICH THE SOCIALIST DELEGATIONS
CONSIDER PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT AND PERTINENT TO THE
ELABORATION OF A WORKABLE PROGRAMME OF REDUCTIONS, SET
BEFORE US AS THE AGREED OBJECTIVE OF THE VIENNA TALKS BY
OUR GOVERNMENTS.

17. FIRSTLY, THE VIRTUE OF THE FOUR-POWER DRAFT
AGREEMENT CONSISTS IN ITS PROVISION FOR THE SUBSTANTIAL
REDUCTIONS. WE HAVE POINTED OUT THAT THE REDUCTION OF
ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE BY MORE THAN
15 PERCENT WOULD MEAN THE WITHDRAWAL AND DEMOBILISATION
DURING THE PERIOD OF 1975 - 1977 OF MANY TENS OF
THOUSANDS OF SOLDIERS TOGETHER WITH THEIR COMBAT EQUIPMENT.
IT IS WORTH EMPHASIZING THAT TO DISMANTLE THIS SUBSTANTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00089 02 OF 05 071202Z

PORTION OF MILITARY CAPABILITIES IN CENTRAL EUROPE WOULD
CONFORM TO THE NEEDS OF PROGRESSING DETENTE AND PEACEFUL
COEXISTENCE. THIS WOULD TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE SPECIFIED
SHORT PERIOD OF TIME, LESS THAN THREE YEARS. STILL,
THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS AMBITIOUS PLAN IS NOT BEYOND
THE PRACTICAL POSSIBILITIES OF THE PARTIES CONCERNED.

18. SECONDLY, THE DRAFT AGREEMENT CONTAINS UNDERTAKINGS
FOR MUTUAL, EQUITABLE AND HONEST CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE

PROCESS OF REDUCTION BY ALL 11 DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. THE BASIC ASSUMPTION OF THIS PLAN WHICH CORRESPONDS TO THE AGREED PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY IS TO PRESERVE THE HISTORICALLY FORMED BASIS OF SECURITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE, AND EUROPE AS A WHOLE. THE REDUCTION OF FORCES BY RELATIVELY MODEST NUMBERS ENVISAGED FOR 1975 WOULD PERMIT THE STATES BELONGING TO THE TWO MILITARY GROUPINGS TO GAIN EXPERIENCE AND ACQUAINT THEMSELVES WITH THE MODALITIES OF THE MORE ADVANCED PROGRAMME OF REDUCTIONS. THE SUBSEQUENT EQUAL PERCENTAGE-WISE CUTS ENVISAGED FOR 1976 AND 1977 WOULD ENSURE THE MUTUALITY AND EQUITY OF REDUCTIONS IN ARMED FORCES AND THEIR EQUIPMENT. THOSE WHO HAVE MORE FORCES AND ARMAMENTS WOULD HAVE TO CONTRIBUTE PROPORTIONATELY LARGER SHARE. WE SUBMIT THAT THIS IS THE METHOD WHICH COMPLIES WITH THE EXIGENCES OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY.

19. THIRDLY, THE COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO THE QUESTION OF REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, PROPOSED IN THE DRAFT AGREEMENT OF FOUR SOCIALIST STATES, TAKES ACCOUNT OF THE OBJECTIVE REALITIES EXISTING IN CENTRAL EUROPE. NO MAJOR COMPONENT OF THE PRESENT MILITARY MIX IS LEFT OUT OF THE PROGRAMME OF REDUCTIONS. THE MOST DESTRUCTIVE WEAPONS, FORMING PART OF BOTH GROUND AND AIR FORCES, ARE TO BE COMPRISED. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE SHOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT THAT MILLIONS OF INHABITANTS OF DENSELY POPULATED AREAS OF CENTRAL EUROPE ARE EAGERLY AWAITING THE DECISION TO REDUCE NUCLEAR WEAPONS ALONG WITH THE CONVENTIONAL MEANS OF WARFARE. THE COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO REDUCTIONS IS ALSO NECESSITATED BY A NUMBER OF TECHNICAL AND MILITARY CONSIDERATIONS, IF WE ARE TO MAINTAIN THE EQUILIBRIUM OF FORCES IN THE AREA.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MBFR V 00089 02 OF 05 071202Z

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00089 03 OF 05 071149Z

42

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EURE-00 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05

ACDA-05 BIB-01 ERDE-00 EB-07 /090 W

----- 066232

P R 070904Z MAR 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0881

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 5 MBFR VIENNA 0089

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

ANKARA FOR DELIVERY OF TEXT ONLY TO NATO DEPT,
TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTRY

20. IN VIEW OF THE DIFFERENT COMPOSITION AND ORGANISATIONAL
STRUCTURE OF THE RESPECTIVE MILITARY SYSTEMS, ECONOMIC AND IN-
DUSTRIAL CAPABILITIES, ARMS PRODUCTION CAPACITIES, INFRASTRUC-
TURAL NETWORKS, DEGREE OF SOPHISTICATION IN SYSTEMS OF COM-
MUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION, AS WELL AS OTHER FACTORS WHICH
INFLUENCE THE EVALUATION OF THE RELATIVE STRENGTH OF ARMED
FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN THE AREA, ONLY THE COMPREHENSIVE
APPROACH TO REDUCTIONS MAY SATISFY THE OBJECTIVE NEED OF
RESPECTING THE UNDIMINISHED SECURITY OF THE PARTIES AND PRE-
SERVING THE SECURE STABILITY IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00089 03 OF 05 071149Z

21. FOURTHLY, WE HAVE AMPLY DEMONSTRATED THAT OUR DRAFT
AGREEMENT FULLY COMPLIES WITH THE DECISIONS OF THE PREPARATORY
CONSULTATIONS. THESE DECISIONS WENT BEYOND PROCEDURAL ARRANGE-
MENTS SINCE THEY INTRODUCED THE PRINCIPLES OF UNDIMINISHED
SECURITY, EQUITY OF RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS, MUTUALITY OF UNDER-
TAKINGS, WE WELL AS ESTABLISHED THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS AND THE
SUBJECT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND FUTURE AGREEMENTS. THEY, IN
FACT, CONSTITUTE AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL AND LEGAL FOUNDATION

TO ANY AGREEMENT RESULTING FROM THESE TALKS.

22. LAST BUT NOT LEAST, THE DRAFT STATES IN REMARKABLY CLEAR AND PRECISE TERMS THE OBLIGATIONS OF ALL THE PARTIES AT EACH REDUCTION STAGE. WE SUGGEST AN EQUITABLE METHOD OF REDUCTIONS, TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE PRESENCE IN THE AREA OF BOTH NATIONAL AND FOREIGN ARMED FORCES.

23. ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF THIS PLAN IS ASSUMPTION OF THE OBLIGATIONS TO REDUCE BY ALL THE 11 DIRECT PARTICIPANTS OF THE VIENNA TALKS. CONSEQUENTLY, EACH PARTY TO THE REDUCTION PROGRAMME WOULD KNOW EXACT TERMS OF REDUCTIONS TO BE EFFECTED BY ALL OTHER PARTIES.

24. MR CHAIRMAN,
WE CONSIDER THIS REVIEW OF THE GENERAL APPROACH OF THE SOCIALIST STATES TO THE COMPLEX PROBLEM OF REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE TO BE USEFUL AT THIS JUNCTURE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WHEN FOUR SOCIALIST DELEGATIONS UNDERTAKE A NEW IMPORTANT INITIATIVE TO MOVE THE TALKS AHEAD.

25. I SHOULD LIKE NOW, ON BEHALF OF THE DELEGATIONS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND POLAND, TO PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING CONTENTS OF AMENDMENTS AND ADDITIONS TO THE DRAFT AGREEMENT ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMAMENTS IN CENTRAL EUROPE, TABLED BY OUR GOVERNMENTS ON 8 NOVEMBER 1973:

26. FIRST. THE REDUCTION IN 1975 BY 20 THOUSAND MEN ON EACH SIDE COULD BE CARRIED OUT IN A WAY ENVISAGED IN THE PROPOSAL OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00089 03 OF 05 071149Z

CONCLUSION OF A SEPARATE AGREEMENT ON INITIAL REDUCTIONS, VIZ.:

- TO CARRY OUT IN 1975 REDUCTIONS OF ARMED FORCES OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES /USA, BELGIUM, CANADA, FRG, LUXEMBURG, THE NETHERLANDS, UNITED KINGDOM/ AND OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES /USSR, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, GDR AND POLAND/ BY TOTAL NUMBER OF 20 THOUSAND MEN ON EACH SIDE WITH THE CORRESPONDING ARMS AND COMBAT EQUIPMENT;

- TO REDUCE THE FORCES OF THE USA AND THE USSR BY 10 THOUSAND MEN EACH AND, FOR INSTANCE, THOSE OF THE FRG AND POLAND BY 5 THOUSAND MEN EACH, AND TO DISTRIBUTE THE REMAINING 5 THOUSAND ON EACH SIDE AMONG THE REMAINING STATES;

- IN THE COURSE OF 1975 TO CARRY OUT THE REDUCTION
OF FORCES: OF THE USSR AND THE USA IN THE FIRST
HALF OF THE YEAR AND OF THE REMAINING STATES IN THE
SECOND HALF.

27. SECOND. IN 1976, WHEN ACCORDING TO THE DRAFT
AGREEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ALL THE PARTI-
CIPATING STATES REDUCE THEIR ARMED FORCES BY 5 PERCENT,
THE FORCES OF THE USSR AND THE USA WOULD BE REDUCED
IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE YEAR AND THOSE OF THE RE-
MAINING STATES IN THE SECOND HALF.

28. AS TO 1977, THE REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND ARMA-
MENTS BY 10 PERCENT IS IMPLEMENTED SIMULTANEOUSLY BY ALL COUNTRIES.
THIS MODE, TO BE APPLIED AT THE FINAL STAGE OF THE OVERALL
REDUCTION, IS FULLY LOGICAL AND JUSTIFIED SINCE AT THAT TIME
EACH PARTICIPANT OF THE AGREEMENT SHOULD BE ASSURED THAT ALL
THE REMAINING STATES ALSO IMPLEMENT THE UNDERTAKEN OBLIGATIONS.

29. MR CHAIRMAN,
THE AMENDMENTS AND ADDITIONS WHICH THE FOUR SOCIALIST
COUNTRIES ARE NOW SUGGESTING TO THEIR DRAFT AGREEMENT OF
8 NOVEMBER 1973 ARE INDEED IMPORTANT.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00089 04 OF 05 071249Z

42

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EURE-00 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05

ACDA-05 BIB-01 ERDE-00 EB-07 /090 W

----- 067115

P R 070904Z MAR 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0882

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY ANKARA
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 5 MBFR VIENNA 0089

30. I SHOULD PARTICULARLY STRESS THE POINT THAT THESE AMENDMENTS HAVE NOT IN ANY MEASURE BEEN CAUSED BY THE REVISION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL APPROACH OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES TO THE PROBLEM OF REDUCTION IN CENTRAL EUROPE. WE STILL CONSIDER THE ORIGINAL SOLUTIONS PROPOSED IN OUR DRAFT TO BE JUST AND MORE CONSEQUENT.

31. THE REASON WHY WE PROPOSE THESE AMENDMENTS IS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT SOME WESTERN VIEWS IN ORDER TO FACILITATE A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT ON SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS. HAVING ENCOUNTERED IN THE FIRST MONTHS OF OUR DISCUSSIONS THE WESTERN OPPOSITION TO THE FOUR-POWER DRAFT AND THE WESTERN INSISTENCE ON AN UNACCEPTABLE SCHEME OF REDUCTION, WE TRIED TO MOVE THE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD THROUGH THE COMPROMISE PROPOSAL OF A SEPARATE INITIAL REDUCTION STEP IN 1975. BEHIND THIS PROPOSAL WAS A DEFINITE INTENTION TO START MOVING TOWARDS SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS. WE ARE NOW CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00089 04 OF 05 071249Z

MAKING A STEP FURTHER, AND A MAJOR STEP FURTHER. WE PROPOSE AMENDMENTS WHICH INCORPORATE INTO OUR DRAFT AGREEMENT THE RESULTS OF THE DEBATES, BOTH OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL, HELD ON THE CONCEPT OF INITIAL REDUCTIONS. WE SERIOUSLY EXPAND THE MEASURE OF OUR FLEXIBILITY WITH REGARD TO THE PROPOSED SOLUTIONS IN 1976.

32. THUS, BOTH IN 1975 AND EVEN MORE IN 1976, I.E. DURING TWO OUT OF THREE STAGES OF REDUCTIONS PROPOSED IN OUR DRAFT, WE WOULD BE FOLLOWING A PATTERN OF REDUCTIONS WHICH TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT MEETS THE WESTERN POSITION.

33. TO FULLY BRING HOME THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS, I WOULD, IN PARTICULAR, EMPHASIZE THE FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS:

34. FIRST. AS YOU KNOW, IT HAS ALL ALONG BEEN THE OPINION OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES THAT IN ORDER TO BEST COPE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF MUTUALITY, EQUITY AND EQUIVALENCE OF REDUCTIONS, THE 11 STATES WHO AS DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THESE TALKS WOULD TAKE PART IN THEM, SHOULD ALL DO IT RIGHT FROM THE BEGINNING AND SIMULTANEOUSLY THROUGHOUT THE PROCESS. WE HAVE EXPLAINED WHY IT SHOULD BE SO.

35. AT THE SAME TIME WE HAVE OPPOSED AS UNFOUNDED THE

WESTERN DEMAND FOR PRECEDING BY THE REDUCTIONS OF SOVIET AND US FORCES THOSE OF THE OTHER ARMED FORCES IN THE AREA. WE STILL CONSIDER THAT THE WESTERN DELEGATIONS BACK THIS DEMAND WITH MOTIVES WHICH ARE EXTRANEIOUS TO THE AGREED PRINCIPLES.

36. HOWEVER, THE FOUR SOCIALIST STATES HAVE MADE A SERIOUS EFFORT TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE WESTERN VIEWS ON THE SEQUENCE OF REDUCTIONS. IN DEFERENCE TO THOSE VIEWS WE FIRST AGREED IN OCTOBER LAST TO HAVE PRIOR REDUCTIONS OF SOVIET AND AMERICAN FORCES IN 1975 UNDER OUR PROPOSAL FOR AN INITIAL REDUCTION STEP. NOW WE WOULD INCORPORATE THIS ORDER OF REDUCTIONS FOR 1975 INTO OUR DRAFT AGREEMENT AND FOLLOW IT ALSO IN THE SECOND STAGE OF OUR THREE-YEAR REDUCTION PROGRAMME.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00089 04 OF 05 071249Z

37. BOTH IN 1975 AND IN 1976 OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD CARRY OUT THEIR REDUCTIONS ONLY WHEN THE SOVIET AND AMERICAN REDUCTIONS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED.

38. SUCH ARRANGEMENT, INDEED, FITS IN WITH THE OFTEN EXPRESSED WESTERN WISH THAT COMPLETION OF PRIOR SOVIET AND AMERICAN REDUCTIONS SHOULD PROVIDE AN ASSURANCE FOR THE OTHER WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, TO ENABLE THEM STARTING REDUCTIONS.

39. WHILE OFFERING THIS COMPROMISE SOLUTION THE FOUR SPONSORS OF THE PROPOSED AMENDMENTS HAVE ALSO TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION THE LONG DEBATE HERE ON THE QUESTION WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE BEGINNING. WE ONCE ALL AGREED THAT SOLVING THIS QUESTION WAS CRUCIAL TO PROGRESS IN OUR NEGOTIATIONS. WE BELIEVE WE HAVE NOW PROVIDED THE COMPROMISE AND REALISTIC ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION.

40. SECONDLY, IN THE COURSE OF TO-DATE DEBATES THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE ABUNDANTLY CLARIFIED WHY THEY FEEL JUSTIFIED IN ASKING FOR REDUCTIONS PROPORTIONATE TO MILITARY CAPABILITIES POSSESSED BY EACH DIRECT PARTICIPANT IN THE AREA. GIVEN THE COMPLEX CHARACTER OF THESE CAPABILITIES AND DIFFERENT IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS NATIONAL AND FOREIGN COMPONENTS IN THE TOTAL POTENTIAL OF THE RESPECTIVE MILITARY ALLIANCES, SUCH METHOD OF REDUCTION IS MOST SATISFACTORY IN ASSURING UNDIMINISHED SECURITY OF EACH PARTICIPATING STATE.

41. BUT HERE, TOO, SOCIALIST COUNTRIES HAVE SHOWN GOOD WILL AND AGREED TO MAKE A SERIOUS CHANGE IN THEIR ORIGINAL PROPOSALS IN ORDER TO MEET THE WESTERN VIEWS. SO, UNDER THE AMENDED DRAFT AGREEMENT IT IS THE TWO POWERS,

THE USSR AND THE USA, THAT WOULD HAVE THE LARGEST SHARE IN
THE REDUCTIONS OF THE FIRST STAGE, IN 1975.

42. AS FAR AS 1976 IS CONCERNED, SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION
OF THE SOVIET FORCES WILL BE EFFECTED BEFORE OTHER
DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, NOTABLY THE WESTERN EUROPEAN,
ARE CALLED ON TO START REDUCING THEIR FORCES.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00089 05 OF 05 071209Z

42
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EURE-00 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07

IO-10 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01

SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05

ACDA-05 BIB-01 ERDE-00 EB-07 /090 W
----- 066530

P R 070904Z MAR 75
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0883
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 5 OF 5 MBFR VIENNA 0089

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

ANKARA FOR DELIVERY OF TEXT ONLY TO NATO DEPT,
TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTRY

43. THIRDLY, THE SPONSORS OF THE NEW PROPOSALS, WHICH
MARKEDLY DEPART FROM THEIR ORIGINAL ONES, WISH TO DRAW THE
ATTENTION OF THE WESTERN STATES TO THE IMPORTANCE OF TREATING

THESE PROPOSALS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OVERALL REDUCTION PROGRAMME, AS PART OF THIS PROGRAMME. IN THIS WAY WE INTEND ONCE AGAIN TO STRESS OUR PRIMARY INTEREST FOR ACHIEVING AGREEMENT ON SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS, TO FOCUS OUR DEBATE ON THIS CENTRAL QUESTION. THE SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTIONS ARE IN OUR VIEW NECESSITATED BY AND COMMENSURATE WITH THE EXPECTED CONSOLIDATION OF THE TREND FOR DETENTE IN THE COMING YEARS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00089 05 OF 05 071209Z

44. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT BY INCORPORATING THESE IMPORTANT COMPROMISE SUGGESTIONS INTO OUR DRAFT AGREEMENT ON OVERALL REDUCTION WE PROVIDE THE JUST ANSWER TO THE CONCERN THAT SOME OF THE WESTERN DELEGATIONS RAISED IN CONNECTION WITH OUR PARTIAL PROPOSALS, I.E. ABOUT THE FINAL OUTCOME OF THE REDUCTION PROCESS. THIS FINAL OUTCOME STANDS CLEAR FROM THE AMENDED DRAFT AGREEMENT IN RESPECT OF SIZE, TIMING AND METHOD OF REDUCTIONS, BOTH GENERAL - BY ALL PARTICIPATING STATES, AND INDIVIDUAL - BY EACH OF THEM.

45. IN THE VIEW OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS OF SUBSTANTIAL REDUCTION IS OUR CENTRAL TASK AT THESE NEGOTIATIONS. THE AMENDMENTS AND ADDITIONS WHICH WE HAVE JUST PRESENTED ARE MEANT TO FACILITATE THIS TASK AND ACCELERATE ACCORD.

46. FOURTHLY, I SHOULD LIKE TO MAKE CLEAR THAT BY TABLING OUR NEW PROPOSALS, WE DO NOT FORSAKE THE ONE MADE LAST OCTOBER FOR A SEPARATE AGREEMENT ON INITIAL REDUCTION STEP. ONE CERTAINLY SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THE VALUE OF INITIAL AND PARTIAL SOLUTIONS. ALSO THE PROPOSAL OF THE FOUR SOCIALIST STATES, MADE IN NOVEMBER - DECEMBER LAST, CONCERNING THE JOINT DECLARATION OF THE COMMITMENT BY 11 DIRECT PARTICIPANTS NOT TO INCREASE THEIR ARMED FORCES MANPOWER IN CENTRAL EUROPE DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS, REMAINS FULLY VALID. THESE TWO PROPOSALS ARE PARALLEL TO THE ONE WE HAVE JUST PUT FORWARD. TAKEN TOGETHER, THEY PROVE CONSIDERABLE FLEXIBILITY OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THEY ARE ALL DICTATED BY OUR INTEREST TO REACH AGREEMENT, TO BRING ABOUT MILITARY DETENTE IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THIS RANGE OF PROPOSALS OFFERS TO THE WESTERN STATES THE CHOICE FOR CONSTRUCTIVE RESPONSE.

47. HAVING INDICATED THE NATURE AND THE EXTENT OF COMPROMISE IN OUR NEW PROPOSALS, I SHOULD MAKE A POINT TO STRESS THAT THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES APPROACH CONTINUES TO BASE ITSELF ON THE AGREED PRINCIPLES OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS: THOSE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY, MUTUALITY AND EQUALITY OF OBLIGATIONS. CONSEQUENTLY, WE CONSIDER THAT THE FLEXIBILITY IN THE MATTER OF SEQUENCE AND PROPORTIONS OF REDUCTIONS IS POSSIBLE ONLY WHEN ALL PARTICIPANTS AGREE TO UNDERTAKE SPECIFIC REDUCTION

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00089 05 OF 05 071209Z

OBLIGATIONS. ONLY THIS WOULD GIVE EVERY PARTICIPANT THE AWARENESS AND THE ASSURANCE AS TO THE MAGNITUDE AND TIMING OF REDUCTIONS BY ALL OTHER PARTICIPANTS. THIS INDEED IS A BASIC REQUIREMENT AND THE ONE GENERALLY ACCEPTED IN THE PRACTICE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

48. MR CHAIRMAN,
I HAVE PRESENTED THE IMPORTANT NEW PROPOSALS OF THE FOUR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. I HAVE EXPOUNDED THE SPONSORS HIGH MOTIVES BEHIND THEM. PERMIT ME TO EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT THE WESTERN DELEGATIONS AND THEIR GOVERNMENTS WILL TAKE THESE PROPOSALS SERIOUSLY, APPRECIATE THE CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT IN THEM, AND - MORE IMPORTANT - THAT THEY WILL FIND IT POSSIBLE TO RECIPROCATATE THIS INITIATIVE SO THAT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS CAN BE ARRIVED AT AND REAL PROGRESS SOON OBTAINED IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. END TEXT.RESOR

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENT DRAFT, TEXT, ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS, MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 MAR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MBFRV00089
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750080-0532
From: MBFR VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750372/aaaacnbi.tel
Line Count: 731
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 14
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <02 APR 2003 by KelleyW0>; APPROVED <02 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: MARCH 6 PRESENTATION AT MARCH 6 PLENARY SESSION
TAGS: PARM, US, UR, NATO, WTO, MBFR
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006